

First-hand information

**Freedom, democracy,
human rights —
for whom and for what?**

**The GDR presents
its views**

**Conference
of the
Central Committee
of the Socialist
Unity Party of Germany
on Agitation
and Propaganda**

Berlin, 16 and 17 November 1972

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Life confirms that our policy is correct and successful

Opening address delivered by Comrade Erich Honecker,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Dear Comrades,

I declare the Conference of our party on questions of agitation and propaganda open. On behalf of the Central Committee I welcome warmly all comrades present. We are confident that this Conference will be a major contribution to the further implementation of the decisions adopted by the VIth SED Congress, notably through the exchange of experiences gathered on the ideological front.

Comrades, our Conference is held at a moment when it is becoming evident that the attempt made by certain imperialist quarters and their spokesmen to isolate the German Democratic Republic from international life has ended in failure. Instead, we are in the midst of a process in which the GDR is being recognized on a world-wide scale.

All people having preserved a sense of realism—whatever their stance on questions of the present and future—will have noticed for quite some time that this development was inevitable whether or not the Basic Treaty on Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany had been concluded. The fact that this development has found such visible expression in the initialing of the Basic Treaty between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany makes it clear that the treaty will benefit not only the two German states but all people in the world who stand for peace and the relaxation of tensions. Certain people deemed it necessary to declare in recent days by signing the Basic Treaty—and I quote—the new leaders of the GDR have shown the courage to take risks.

We I, comrades, quite apart from the fact one should always have the courage to take risks in the political and economic fields, I must make it quite clear that this treaty has come about because of the

consistent policy practised by our Marxist-Leninist party and the government of the GDR, a policy geared to peace and the welfare of man.

Ever since the GDR was founded more than 23 years ago, our party and government have been known for their readiness to normalize relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, i.e. on the basis of the generally accepted standards of international law.

For over 20 years all the proposals submitted to this effect by the Central Committee of our party and by the government of the German Democratic Republic have been stubbornly rejected. Needless to say, Messrs. Barzel and Strauss can hardly blame us for this state of affairs. Nor will it be of any help to them to make the irresponsible claim that the game has been played "with marked cards". Instead they had better lay the blame on themselves and admit *Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa*. I am to blame, I am completely to blame.

2. Dear comrades, it is completely futile to put forward the argument that a "better" treaty might have been obtained. There can be no better Basic Treaty! The present treaty which has been negotiated in tough and difficult deliberations takes account of both the interests of the socialist German Democratic Republic and of those of the Federal Republic and its citizens, otherwise it would not have come about. There is no doubt that its ratification and coming into force will have a beneficial effect on the further development of inter-state relations in Europe. At the same time it goes without saying that we do not entertain the slightest illusion about the nature of these relations. There can be relations only as are possible between socialist and capitalist states and as are necessary in the interest of peace and, consequently, of mankind.

The treaty negotiated on the basis of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany should be seen against the background of the whole range of agreements in Europe, concluded during the last few years which testifies to the fact that the world is changing in a positive sense under the impact of socialism, notably through the power and strength of the Soviet Union. To put it in a nutshell: It has become possible because of the change in the relation of forces in favour of peace and socialism. This change in the alignment of forces has made it clearer and clearer that it is advantageous not only for the German Democratic Republic, but also for the Federal

Republic of Germany to base its policies on the realities that have arisen as a consequence of World War II and of post-war developments.

However much one may quibble over this state of affairs, history moves on. The growing strength of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics whose 50th anniversary we shall soon celebrate together and that of the whole community of socialist states has changed the international situation and will continue to do so. Our party and the citizens of the German Democratic Republic who have struggled to strengthen the German Democratic Republic as the socialist state of the workers and farmers may say with good reason today that they have helped bring about this turn for the better in international developments.

Comrades, we should never forget that it was side by side and hand in hand with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the USSR that we have scored these successes. The coordinated action of the socialist countries, the support given to our policy by our fraternal socialist countries have made it possible for the German Democratic Republic to achieve this breakthrough, to play its full role in international life as an equal partner. Let me express our thanks for this to the fraternal parties and countries.

Dear comrades, the consolidation of the international position of our workers' and farmers' state which nobody can ignore any longer today is the result of the joint work we have been carrying on since 1945. We note this with pride. But this does not mean, of course, that we can now rest on our laurels. We would be failing to make a correct assessment of the tasks facing us if we were to take such a stand. As we all know, the greater part of the tasks defined by the Eighth SED Congress remains to be solved. We shall solve these if we regard the unity and cohesion of our party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism as something which each and every one of us takes to heart as the apple of our eye, if we strengthen our fraternal alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as well as with the brother parties in the spirit of Ernst Thälmann, if we unflinchingly take a principled, Marxist-Leninist approach to their solution, if we are always guided by the idea that the struggle between socialism and capitalism and the transition of more countries to socialism is the essential feature of our age.

Comrades, the Central Committee of our party attaches great importance to this Conference, to this exchange of experience on agitation and propaganda activities. In our everyday work we must

The present conference is expected to discuss the question of how this decision can best be made the basis of our daily activities, so as to be put into practice most effectively.

Comrades, we all know the importance of the ideological work of our party, which must be convincing and conducive to conscious activity and change. It is part of the world-wide struggle of our time. We are witnessing and actively promoting the advance of mankind towards socialism. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the ideas of the working class, having materialized in the countries of the socialist community, where real socialism exists, exercise the powerful influence in the remotest corners of the globe.

Our time is, therefore, the age of the great advance of our ideas, of the ideology and theory of scientific socialism and communism. Never before have the peoples of the world thought about the meaning and aim of life and society as intensely as they do now. Never before has the influence of progressive ideas been so strong. After all, our struggle for socialism and its further development is above all a struggle to win over people for conscious action in the interest of our just cause—a struggle for 'its world outlook, since (as Comrade Erich Honecker put it at the VIth Party Congress) "socialism, unlike previous social systems, is created and developed through conscious and well-planned action by the people".¹

Viewed in this way, the ideological work of the party is a permanent task, which must be fulfilled again and again, and on an ever higher level at that. We must take into consideration the constantly changing conditions, which are not least a result of our own work. In doing so, we must never forget the fact that the development of people's socialist political consciousness must always be linked up with the fight against bourgeois ideology, the struggle against imperialism which does not stop at anything in its efforts to obstruct the development of socialist society.

Advancing on the course charted by the VIIIth Party Congress, solving the great tasks that will confront us in the next few years, we are going to establish even stronger links with the masses in accordance with the spirit and style of the VIth Party Congress. We will involve the entire working class and all other working people in the great discussion of what must be done and how to solve the tasks facing us in the most effective manner. We are going to make even more room for initiative by removing subjective obstacles, so that the people's creative energy can fully develop.

¹ Protokoll des V. Parteitages der SED. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, Vol. I, p. 111

and, in its turn, stimulate people to achievements promoting the cause of socialism and helping to make life more and more meaningful and pleasant for the builders of socialism. And we are convinced that in all these activities the tested party cadres, the propaganda workers of the party, will again be found in the very midst of the masses, informing them, convincing them, inspiring them, sweeping them along with enthusiasm, for our great common cause.

Results so far achieved

The decision of the Politburo states: "In the field of agitation and propaganda our party has gained valuable experience. Good results were achieved in the development of people's socialist political consciousness." What an unprecedented, brilliant achievement of our party and its Marxist-Leninist education work is expressed in this sober statement.

We have to remember the point at which our ideological work started in order to realize the magnitude of the changes in the minds of the people of this country, brought about by the party in the revolutionary social upheaval during the past twenty-five years, changes whose scope and profundity are absolutely unprecedented in German history. Cruelly decimated by the fascists, deprived of tens of thousands of its most active, most faithful fighters, the party inherited the material, intellectual and moral debris left behind by fascism. It had to deal with people whose minds had been unbelievably poisoned, brutalized people ignorant of the truth, filled with a mad, indeed, suicidal hatred of everything communist, Soviet, or socialist.

With the selfless help of the communists in Red Army uniform we proceeded to reassure the millions, help them overcome their despair and fill them with hope for a new life. We purged the minds of the poison of those barbarous ideologies—racism, nationalism, and militarism—we taught them humanism, love of peace and international friendship, sincere friendship with those people which they had been incited to hate most—the peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

We won them over for democracy and socialism, and with them we have step by step built a new society—their own state, and we saved them from nationalistic deceptions and relapses into the past. We have forged a stable, inseparable alliance between them

and the rest of the state and the other peoples that have adopted the world's most progressive social system.

The revolution in the field of ideology was carried out for the purpose and in the course of and parallel to the revolutionary transformation of society. This ideological revolution meant the creation of a revolutionary political consciousness among the masses, knowledge of the laws of human development, conscious action for socialism, firm alliance with the working-class party, pride in the socialist state, steadfastness in the face of the imperialist class enemy, love of, and loyalty to, the Soviet Union, the leading force of world socialism.

The prestige enjoyed by the GDR both among its own citizens and internationally is evidence of the truth and revolutionary power of Marxism-Leninism as well as of our party's ability fundamentally to change people and conditions.

Our party has been able to achieve these results because it has unwaveringly been guided by Marxism-Leninism, and because it has developed its ability to apply Marxism-Leninism to our conditions without ignoring at any time the general laws of socialist construction and the lessons of it, such as were further developed and tested by the party of Lenin.

Our party was able to reach its present stage, in spite of the unfavourable beginnings, because it has always regarded ideological work as the central task of leadership, and because it has educated its own members as active champions of our world outlook, as active and persistent fighters endeavouring, together with the masses, to translate the party's word into reality. Whatever heights we may reach in the future, however brilliant the future achievements of socialist and communist work may be—we and all future generations educated by the party will always pay tribute to those who successfully tackled the hardest task, those who led our country from capitalist misery into the advanced socialist society.

Knowing that the past years of hard work were worth while, convinced of the superiority of our ideology—the philosophy of the working class elaborated by Marx, Engels and Lenin—over any other ideology, conscious of the fact that the policy outlined by the VIIIth Party Congress has stood the test of time, and that we are fully equipped to achieve new successes, we will continue to implement the decisions adopted by the VIIIth Congress.

New demands on agitation and propaganda

We are in the middle of a far-reaching process of continuing the development of advanced socialist society along the path charted by the VIIIth Party Congress. This process is not isolated but in close harmony with the more advanced development processes going on in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, which are identical with or similar to ours. At the same time this process is part of socialism's world-wide moves for peace and progressive solutions to the vital questions facing all mankind—it is part of the international struggle against imperialism.

For this reason, we are supported by the experience of the entire world communist movement, of our fraternal parties in the countries of the socialist community, and above all the experience of Lenin's party, which leads all of us along the road towards communism by implementing the decisions of its XXIVth Congress.

Education in the spirit of internationalism

The first priority pointed out in the decision of the Politburo with regard to the manifold ideological activities refers to the general awareness of developments going on in our world, in the world of socialism, awareness of its advance, its influence on the destinies of the peoples, and of our responsibility for, and contribution to, these developments. The importance and dimensions of this vital problem of our time is expressed in the slogan: "For greater consciousness and activity in the ascendant world of socialism."

There are three major revolutionary elements on our planet, but the main force of the revolutionary process going on in the world is the international socialist system, the socialist community of states rallied around the Soviet Union. The power, unity and cohesion of this alliance is the decisive factor. There is no forward development or change for the better in the world of today that is not due to the socialist countries—their power, their example, their support, and their influence. The international relation of forces has changed as a result of its strength and cohesion; the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement are fighting with the backing of the socialist countries.

We are part of the international alliance fighting for the revolutionary renaissance of the world; what is more, we are a socialist state firmly and irrevocably integrated into the community of so-

cialist states, the main revolutionary force of our time, as the VIth Party Congress stressed. The demands made on us with regard to all our activities, both national and international, have increased along with the extension of the world revolutionary process and the increasing responsibility of socialism for the future of mankind, human peace and progress, and so have the demands on our concrete knowledge and understanding of the social processes and political developments throughout the world and, thus, the demands made on the quality of our ideological work. This is manifested not least in the rapidly and markedly increasing interest of our citizens in international developments and in the requirements of immediate political practice.

We have noted with joy and pride that the fraternal parties are successfully advancing not only in the socialist and communist construction of their respective countries but also with regard to the entirely new quality of their cooperation within our community of states.

But the important points to make everyone realize that, and how much socialist economic integration is a truly revolutionary task of our time. We are often confronted with this in our everyday work, when production targets have to be reached, delivery dates met, problems of planning solved, etc. But at the same time socialist integration is, as Comrade Brezhnev put it, "a task of enormous political significance, a central link in the chain of development of world socialism".² And Comrade Honecker, addressing the National Conference of the Free German Youth, called the "increasingly close cooperation and alignment in the economic and cultural and all other fields of social progress a further development of the concept of internationalism on the part of the proletariat after becoming the ruling class".³

By now socialism has given birth to yet another new type of international relationship between socialist states and peoples. Following the drawing together and union of socialist nations in the form of a state federation—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—the new form of fraternal cooperation and union in the alliance of the socialist community of states has now developed. Thanks to working-class rule, thanks to socialist peoples and individual human beings of different nationalities are now living and working in close harmony—peoples who had only yesterday

2 Ibid. p. 185

3 Erich Honecker, Address to the National Conference of the FDJ, Neues Deutschland, 21 October 1972

been facing the danger of extermination by imperialisms who had been turned against one another by their own bourgeois classes, who had inflicted untold sorrow on each other, and who had had to overcome deep-rooted mutual prejudices.

Indeed, comrades, we live at a time that has translated into reality the age-old dreams of mankind, the hopes and aspirations of the keenest minds of bygone ages.

The October Revolution ushered in the epoch of the world-wide transition to socialism, the establishment of working-class power and with it the socialist solution of the vital question facing all mankind, caused by the system of exploitation but subsisting under the conditions of a system based on private ownership and class antagonism—the liquidation of national oppression and of inequality in terms of development and relations among the peoples, and the solution of the national question.

The Soviet people—a new historic community

Before long the Soviet people—and we, too—will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Union. In view of our present and future international tasks we have done a lot to deepen people's understanding of the world-wide importance of this historic event and of the fact that since then a new set of laws of universal validity has come into effect, the laws of socialism, according to which equality and the fullest development of free peoples, the international union and fraternal cooperation are organic elements of socialism. On this basis a new historical community took shape in the Soviet Union in the course of building socialism and communism—the Soviet people.

This example has fundamentally influenced the changes going on in the world; it has increased the attractiveness of a socialism that exists for all to see and which nated the collapse of the colonial system. Fifty years of the USSR—that is the triumph of proletarian internationalism over all kinds of bourgeois nationalism.

Cara Zetkin was impressed by the harmonious combination of national and international elements developing and creatively functioning already in the early 1920s in what was then called the Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics. She called this a "fascinating spectacle" demonstrating that the proletarian "International" will include all mankind.⁴

⁴ Cara Zetkin, *Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften* (Berlin 1960, Vol. 1), p. 663.

Comrades, it is one of the most important duties of every propaganda worker in our party to awaken such fascination in the minds of our country's citizens on beholding this "fascinating spectacle" going on in the huge area extending from the Behring Strait on Siberia's eastern coast to the river Elbe in the west and, reaching across the Atlantic to Cuba, right off the coast of North America, from the Arctic Ocean to the south-eastern shores of the Black Sea.

Deepening socialist patriotism and internationalism of our people is a vital priority pointed out in the Politburo's decision on ideological work.

All practical tasks facing us in the GDR are now more than ever inextricably linked with the realization of the aggregate programme of socialist economic integration. The pace and effectiveness of economic development in all countries of the socialist community not only depend on mobilizing the national resources and initiatives, but just as much on the increasing effectiveness of international cooperation and specialization in all fields, from research and planning to production and marketing. Professional, cultural and personal links between people in all fraternal countries are increasing rapidly, tourism assumes unprecedented dimensions and multiplies and deepens personal meetings between citizens of different nations with different historical developments, traditions and mentalities who are, however, all united by their common socialist system.

Integration multiplies our joint potential

All this provides new opportunities for graphic, convincing public work and for propagating socialist internationalism, and also makes higher demands on ideological activity in this field.

Practical internationalism has long since developed beyond mere resolutions and solidarity campaigns. It is also manifested, and more clearly at that, in the exact fulfilment of research and production plans according to schedule, in joint assessment of such foreign economic solutions that might be of maximum benefit to both partners concerned and to the entire community, and in the behaviour of our citizens towards foreign visitors here and towards their hosts in the fraternal countries.

Agitation and propaganda must take these new circumstances into consideration. We will have to go on emphasizing the fundamental questions: that the world-changing, peace-saving power of

socialism derives from the increasing close cooperation in all fields between the countries of our community of states; that the national interests of each socialist country require the development of the community as a whole; that socialist economic integration multiplies our joint potential and, thus, the economic potential of every one of the members of our community.

But today we can, and must, explain these fundamental questions by establishing their connection with concrete events in the daily life of our country. In every combined works, in every district, in every town we can prove what socialist integration means: Soviet oil for our petro-chemical industry, Soviet power station plant for our electricity programme, Soviet means of rationalization and Soviet research results for our engineering industry, Hungarian buses and Czechoslovak trams for public transport, Polish construction machinery for our combined building enterprises, specialized deliveries and joint research and development in virtually all fields.

In this way you could analyse every single country, every single branch of industry in all the countries of our community. You would invariably find that there is hardly any product, hardly any field of work or knowledge which is not already marked by international socialist cooperation. What enormous prospects, what a vast field of activity our young generation has within the enormous scope of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance!

Our party reaffirms its pledge that it regards it as its most important internationalist duty to do its utmost to help consolidate the socialist community of states headed by the Soviet Union. All our efforts to deepen cooperation within our community benefit all fraternal peoples, serve the growth of world socialism, and contribute to change the international relation of forces even more in favour of peace and social progress. This is the historic world development to which we have lent all our energies.

Problems of advanced socialist society

Agitation and propaganda can only be fully effective if they are based on the features, criteria and historical tasks of the advanced socialist society. In doing so, we are conscious of the fact that in this field there is a need for further intensive theoretical work, which must especially make use of the research results of Soviet socialist scientists investigating the laws of socialism and communism.

Socialist society is a social organism which is still young and dynamic and constantly changing. Its growth, its maturing process has several stages which are naturally marked (as every new development is) by a constant struggle between the old and the new. The point is that "the old" no longer means just the legacy of capitalism but also includes things we have created ourselves—things that were at first right and successful yesterday but can be obsolete obstacles tomorrow, so that they must be replaced by better things more in keeping with the new stage of development.

Much remains to be done, and it will certainly take quite some time for socialism in our country to be perfected and for the tasks of this phase of social development along the road to communism to be solved.

So we are faced with great demands—but it is a so gratifying to meet them. Lenin wrote that only socialism is capable of "spreading the social production and distribution according to scientific principles and of fully mastering it in the endeavour to alleviate and enrich the lives of all working people. Only socialism can achieve that. And we know that it will have to put this into practice."⁵ Lenin regarded the "comprehension of this truth as Marxism's greatest difficulty and its greatest strength".

Advanced socialist society is that period in which this "greatest difficulty" must be fully mastered and in which this "greatest strength" of Marxism-Leninism is brought into full play. For the purpose of socialism, viz to promote the well-being of the working people in the fullest sense of the word, to provide ample opportunity of developing and forming socialist personalities—is coming in the forefront of all our deliberations and efforts directly, and much more emphatically than ever before possible. In this respect the ideological work of the party seeks to foster the development of such requirements among the people that are in keeping with socialist principles and deriving from their development.

The continued improvement of the material and cultural living standard is coming more and more to the fore in terms of planning, too. In this respect we work from the assumption that in the period of developing advanced socialist society the principle of distribution according to individual performance (rather than according to individual needs, as under communism) will continue to be valid.

At the stage of the maturing of socialism harmonious propor-

tonal development in all fields of social life—both material and intellectual—absolutely vital. This, in its turn, makes it imperative for the working class and its allies, the cooperative farmers and socialist intellectuals, who are together shaping the social processes, to understand the all-round development of society. This understanding can only be the result of the ideological activities of our party.

The extended economic reproduction going on in our society is mainly characterized by its intensification. Thus, scientific-technological progress has come to be the decisive factor of growth. This entails the need for raising the standard of the scientific, technological and the economic education of the working people.

The principle of distribution according to performance must be observed more and more strictly. There will be closer, more keenly felt connections between this principle and the moral stimuli and motivations for socially useful performance. Without a high degree of ideological maturity on the part of the working people, however, neither the performance principle nor moral stimuli can be fully effective.

The development of advanced socialist society makes new and greater demands on the socialist state, on management by the state, since the socialist state is the main instrument in the construction of our society. Experience has shown that the further development of socialist democracy is the basic means of strengthening the socialist state and of improving the entire political organization of society.

Democratic co-responsibility for and co-determination of social processes, however, also presuppose awareness of their objective laws.

In short, we have reached a stage of social development at which there are many new problems and tasks that have to be solved in a new manner, too. This is the objective reason why the role of ideological work has considerably increased in importance. The task put forward by the VIIIth Party Congress, viz. to continue developing the scientific view of the world among the entire working class and among all other working people, notably youth, is thus logically connected with their increasing activity as builders and developers of the new society, no matter in what field they are working and assuming responsibility. For they must all be able to assess and understand processes concerning the society as a whole.

Let me illustrate this point by drawing your attention to the main

task put forward by the VIIIth Party Congress. The main task, "which is the basis as well as the ultimate aim of agitation and propaganda", can justifiably be said to have been quickly accepted and wholeheartedly welcomed by the overwhelming majority of our people. It has, therefore, given rise to intense activity and a variety of initiatives. Our economic successes since the VIIIth Party Congress are eloquent proof of this fact.

The economic policy initiated by the V Ith Party Congress, whose aim is security and steady progress, has proved its value by positively changing the situation in many fields, increasing people's interest in the work, and giving new momentum to the initiative of millions of people.

This is borne out by the fact that for many months now the plan for industrial goods production has been constantly surpassed. The value created in this way amounted to a total of 2.1 thousand million marks on 31 October. The increasing consistency of economic processes is also manifested in the fact that about 85 per cent of the centrally managed nationally-owned industrial enterprises had already fulfilled the annual plans of industrial goods production by the end of October. Of these, one-third reached a productivity growth of ten and more per cent. Exports to the USSR increased by 23 per cent over the same period in the previous year, which was a so much more than scheduled. At the same time we imported vital raw materials, means of transportation and consumer goods from the Soviet Union to satisfy the needs of the national economy and of the population.

During the past ten months 89,590 new homes were created, including 53,517 new flats, i.e. 1,117 more than scheduled, and 4,029 more than were built during the same period last year. The net direct incomes of the population had risen by 3.7 thousand million marks by the end of October, while the retail trade turnover had risen by 3.3 thousand million marks, or 6.2 per cent (the percentage being even higher with regard to industrial consumer goods, 9.4 per cent).

1972 will undoubtedly be a year of considerable successes in the economic development of our country. It will be a year that gave us the biggest increase to date in flats, kindergartens and creches, a year with a bumper grain harvest and the biggest increase so far in the retail trade turnover. Under the conditions of socialism a huge economic potential has developed in our country.

Our industrial goods production has now reached a value of more than 190 thousand million marks. Our planned, dynamic

economy, which is free of crises, exploitation and profit interests, is regarded with respect by workers, employees, engineers and technicians in many capitalist countries. We have at our disposal an enormous material and technological potential, the extension and more effective utilization of which for the aims of socialism is both an economic and an ideological necessity.

The stability and dynamism of our economic development makes it all the more obvious that there still are obstacles which must be overcome energetically, so as to achieve even greater progress.

We are aware of the backlog in the fulfilment of plans and contracts in various fields. We know about regressions from plans in certain capital projects and about a certain delay in the fulfilment of the plan of scientific and technological development; and we are aware of deficient quality of products in some branches which is manifested in an excessive percentage of rejects, repair and guarantee services. We are also aware of the excessive amount of overtime work and lost man-hours still occurring.

In the continued preparation of the vital plan for 1973 we must concentrate all ideas and proposals on removing such obstacles and fulfilling the tasks planned in all fields. We will have to oppose any trend towards including in the plans only what suits one's own wishes. The principles of realistic planning, careful balancing, and utilizing the law of planned proportional development of the national economy must not be violated.

Using ideology to mobilize people

Much of this can be achieved through the party's ideological work, which is not an end in itself. It should not and may not be restricted to ascertaining successes or deficiencies. It must not only explain and persuade but it must also mobilize people for action. Lenin once said that a propagandist was not a mere tutor but also a representative of the overall interests of the state whose power is vested in the working class and its allies.

On the other hand, past experience has shown that it is by no means enough merely to accept the economic policy and the main task defined by the party and to have the honest desire to help realize them. It is important, particularly in this connection, to grasp the new ideas emanating from the Eighth Party Congress and from the resolutions adopted by it.

In order to concentrate our efforts fully on making further progress

in science and technology by way of rationalization we must fully understand the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress and the fact that the intensively extended reproduction in our time is the main course to be followed to make further economic headway, especially in the GDR, that, in principle, no one has the right to create a new job slot in our economy without previously having created a redundancy to fill that slot.

Those who see the objective of the main task solely in raising the material standard of living will not devote the necessary attention to the development of socialist democracy, to the involvement of the workers in decision-making, to informing the people and developing intellectual life in their sphere of responsibility. We must become more fully aware of the fact that the main task facing us is to satisfy not only material but also intellectual and cultural needs of the people and that mature socialism means above all the emergence of large numbers of mature socialist personalities.

Economy demands the rational employment of all available means and resources. This opens up a wide vista for effective ideological work, with particular emphasis on its educational side, for training our sights upon higher effectiveness means declaring war on all sorts of waste of our common property, of working time, materials and energy as well as on badly worked up, subjective decisions. It means the promotion and moral recognition of innovators and ensuring the participation of the broadest possible strata of working people in working up decisions.

Scientific and technical progress is the most important means of increasing the effectiveness and the rate of development of socialist production. This makes it incumbent upon ideological work to help create an intellectual atmosphere in which the spirit of discovery and innovation is allowed full play, in which socialist team work between workers, engineers and scientists develops thus shortening the time span between a scientific discovery and its productive application and eliminating detours and obstacles in its path, an atmosphere in which people's readiness and ability to continue their qualification, to exchange experience and to acquire Soviet experience keep growing.

To be able to participate in implementing the economic policy outlined during the Eighth Party Congress, the working people must have a thorough knowledge of the concrete economic tasks and problems in their sphere of work and in the national economy as a whole. They must have a good grasp of the economic laws of socialism and of the scientific fundamentals of our economic policy.

The working people, and particularly all managers, must acquire the ability to make thorough economic analyses of their sphere of work, of their place of work so as to be able to utilize available resources, put forward suggestions, make competent decisions and to work creatively. All this should promote a positive attitude towards socialist property and work.

The receptivity for and interest in economic knowledge grow as people become aware that they need this knowledge, that, armed with this knowledge, they achieve better successes in socialist emulation and that they can better cope with their everyday tasks. That is why economic agitation and propaganda work should not stand aloof from or above emulation, planning, discussion, work with the household book or production discussions. Rather, it should leave its mark on these activities and help to make them more effective. That is why party organizations should make even more intensive use of and promote such institutions and methods of practice-oriented economic propaganda as schools of socialist work, teams of lecturers, economic laboratories and progress shows.

Theory should never be made to appear in our ideological work as an unrealistic ideal nor should practice be relegated to the level of patchwork. We should always bear in mind that the theory of Marxism-Leninism analyses and uncovers laws governing reality, that it expresses the real possibilities offered by socialism, which we are realizing step by step in our everyday work.

But theory would be useless if it reflected only the existing reality and if it did not point the way to that which is necessary and possible and to that which is attainable. Marx says that an architect distinguishes himself even from the best bee by the fact "that he builds the cell in his head before building it in wax", that "at the end of the working process . . . a result" is achieved, "which existed in an ideal form a ready before it was started"⁶. In this sense theory is an ideal anticipation of mature socialism, which we are seeking to establish.

Analyses preceding the present conference have shown that progress is fastest in those cases where the style of the Eighth Party Congress prevails, where there are close ties between the party and the masses, where the problems and questions that interest our citizens are tackled and answered in a matter-of-fact way and soberly, but not without revolutionary fervour, where ways are found to give a clear understanding of the relations and con-

connections between people's everyday worries, aspirations and joys and the great historical processes taking place in the world in our times and where our political work summarizes the complex and contradictory processes of both the international class struggle and the process of socialist construction with the light of the Marxist-Leninist science in such a way that the fundamental questions, the class problems, become clear to each and everyone

Our struggle for peace and against imperialism

In accord with the fraternal parties, we regard the preservation of world peace as the most important and central issue of foreign policy. We are jointly taking maximum advantage of a situation in which imperialism must adapt itself to the new international constellation of forces to achieve political solutions and peaceful settlements that leave no road open by which it may attempt to solve its internal problems through war or by resorting to force. Thus we ensure the construction of Socialism and Communism under favourable conditions. We protect and defend the lives of millions upon millions of people. This is in line with the humanist nature of our socialist order.

The USSR and all fraternal states are using all their power and influence to this end. The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders, which was still ignored and attacked by the imperialists only a few years ago, has become a major factor in international developments.

Thanks to the rule of socialism in three quarters of this continent it has been possible to achieve what Europe had never experienced under the absolute rule of capitalism, i.e., a prolonged period of peace. After several decades of struggle by our states Europe has come to a fundamental turning point, it has entered upon a new phase of development and relations between states. The mutual-ateral preparatory meeting for the European Conference on Security and Cooperation is to open in Helsinki in a few days' time.

The Basic Treaty on Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany was drawn up and initiated only a few days ago following drawn out and difficult negotiations. If we compare the principles and obligations set forth in the treaty with the policy pursued by the Federal Republic towards the GDR for more than twenty years we will notice what a great step has now been made towards the recognition of real

ties and towards the implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence also between these two states with different social orders.

Our aim has been to establish relations of peaceful coexistence as are customary and mutually beneficial between sovereign states independent of one another with the Federal Republic just as with any other country. And we have proceeded from the assumption that such a treaty would serve to promote the process of strengthening European security.

The Basic Treaty on Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany is of course a treaty between states with different, indeed antagonistic social orders. Conditions of peaceful coexistence are a great victory for humanity. But we should not overlook the fact that imperialism is still existing and that it represents a power that should not be underestimated.

Vigilance in the struggle against imperialism and its intrigues should not be slackened. Not only is there no ceasefire on the ideological front but the struggle has intensified. And that is why a higher standard of ideological work is also called for in this field. The resolution of the Politburo leaves no doubt at all about this. For peaceful coexistence is not ideological coexistence.

We must continue with all the power of conviction at our command to unmask the character of imperialism and its reactionary and inhuman nature. The resolution of the Politburo contains valuable advice in this connection regarding the scientific bases of our policy, regarding the essential manifestations of imperialist activity in our times, which we should bear in mind, and I should like to add that we should keep alive and not forget our own bitter experiences with imperialism before as well as after the social revolution, which have cost us so much.

After all, the confrontation with bourgeois ideology is intensifying, especially in view of the conditions in which it confronts us and attempts to influence us.

To us Marxists-Leninists, of course, this problem is nothing new. This confrontation has always been part of our propaganda work. It runs like a red thread through the entire history of the revolutionary labour movement. All fundamental works of Marx, Engels and Lenin represent important writings against bourgeois ideology and for the construction of a new world.

We are fighting against all those repugnant notions that misuse man's ability to reason for inhuman ends. We are fighting for a verifiably true view of life that is worthy of man's reason and makes

for man's welfare. Thus, the confrontation with bourgeois ideology is militant and constructive at the same time.

The triumphant advance of the socialist world outlook on a world-wide scale is borne out by numerous manifestations among which the diverse contortions to which bourgeois ideology is forced to resort today are not the least conspicuous ones. The more real socialism becomes in the world and the more people, also those living in capitalist countries, seek an intellectual alternative to the imperialist conditions and views in the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin the more bourgeois ideologists are compelled to resort to covert forms of ideological struggle.

The truth of Lenin's prophesy made in 1913 that "The dialectics of history are such that the theoretical victory of Marxism forces its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists"⁷ has never been so evident as today. The tendency of bourgeois ideology to operate more and more with revisionist, anarchist and other pseudo-socialist theories can be understood only in this light. And finally, the hazy vocabulary of present-day bourgeois ideology, the talk about "democratic socialism", "reformed capitalism", a "new quality of life", the industrial society, "de-ideologization", convergency, anti-authoritarian behaviour and other such claptrap testify to the plain fact that historically, bourgeois ideology is on the defensive.

Of course this does not mean that in its struggle against socialism imperialism does not mobilize and bring to bear the full gamut of ideological trends, ranging from the ultra-conservative and pro-fascist ideologies, chauvinism, race theories, liberal and bourgeois-parliamentary ideas and innumerable philosophicalisms that claim to be modern up to the various forms of deviation from, falsification and distortion of the ideas of the working class and of left-wing and right-wing opportunism. Under the banner of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and nationalism it is trying to gather round it and use all elements, ranging from ultra-rightist ideologists and politicians, bourgeois nationalists and right-wing Social-Democrat leaders, revisionists and "ultra-Leftists" up to the Maoists.

That is why it is our class responsibility consistently to continue and to organize the struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology, against all shades of rightist and "left-wing" opportunism even more effectively, actively, and thoroughly.

7 V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 18 p. 578

On the effectiveness of ideological work

The resolution of the Politburo with good reasons emphasises that work in the ideological field is a rewarding and respected activity for the cause of socialism. But as we have seen, the tasks facing activists and propagandists in implementing the resolutions of the Eighth Party Congress are not few. This raises the question as to how we can manage to develop the required measure of socialist consciousness in the majority of the citizens and how we can ensure that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism are disseminated on an even broader scale and move the masses even more deeply and thus become an even more powerful material force in the construction of socialism and in the international class struggle.

The resolution and the present conference will serve as a guide in this work. That is why all party organisations should first of all use the resolution for testing their work in the ideological field and to ask themselves whether their work and effectiveness meet these standards and what is to be done in order to meet them.

It is important to employ the existing instruments and means of ideological work more effectively. We have chosen this term from the science of economics because we wish to make clear that in most instances we do not favour greater expenditures, more or longer meetings, conferences or reports, but that we are striving for broader and deeper effects. After the present conference the emphasis should be on improving the coordination of all existing methods of propagating Marxism-Leninism and on a theoreticaly more profound and vivid, i.e., more effective, presentation of our philosophy in the practical implementation of the resolution.

Daily persuasion and oral propaganda

The most important forum for working out and passing on arguments to comrades for use in their daily ideological persuasion work is the party meeting. In it we shape the party forces to help successfully implement the decisions of the Central Committee. It is a school of Marxist-Leninist education for all comrades. It can fulfil this function only if it is characterized by lively political activity if it affords comrades an opportunity to exchange views in collective discussion about ways of expanding party policy more convincingly, of answering political questions put by people, of coming out against this or that erroneous or backward view or of countering

th s or that l'e or d stort on spread by the adversary. We need an open atmosphere, 'n wh'ch every comrade can pla nly put h's ques- tions and ra'se h's problems.

Marx'st educat on c asses are an 'mportant prerequ's te for the party member s everyday ideo og cal work with the work ng peop e. Len n's adv ce was that every party member should at all t mes endeavour to acquire "the necessary know edge, the necessary exper ence and—apart from knowledge and exper ence—the neces- sary subt e ntu'tion n order to solve comp'lex po't'cal quest'ons qu'ck y and correctly".⁸ That 's why Marx'st educat on c asses occupy a central pos t on in party l'fe. They open to the major ty of the party members a rich stock of knowledge of Marx st-Len n st theory, exp a n the strategy and tact cs of the party and he p them better to understand and fu l the tasks of soc a st construct on

On the one hand, the 'mpact of our oral propaganda depends on whether every comrade understands how to present the party standpo'nt to the non-party members 'n h's everyday d'scuss ons w th them and, on the other hand, we have seen that the party needs act'v'sts just as much to ensure max'mum eff'cency of oral propaganda as 't needs tutors for spread ng the theory. Indeed, comrades l'fe has shown that the party needs act'v'sts and the resolut on formulates th's unamb'guous y as the task of al party comm ttees

Those comrades shou d be charged w th oral propaganda work that have exper ence n party work, that have a frm command of Marx sm-Len n sm, that read y get on good terms w th peop e around them, that can present the r arguments 'n a conv'nc'ng manner and that have the ab l ty to l sten to others, to understand them and to answer the'r quest ons.

Var ous new forms of pub c work have proved successful after the E ghth Party Congress. Th s ho ds true part'cularly of pol't'cal d'scuss'ons w th sma l groups, wh ch makes poss ble a d fferent- ated and intens'v'e treatment of quest'ons. Th's form has also proved useful 'n the publ c work performed by the National Front, the trade un ons and the youth organ zat on.

Our party has always regarded Marx st-Leninist educat on of its cadres as an important and respons ble leadership task and has, for th's reason, devoted max mum attent on to the cont nuous development of party schools. Now as before, the pr'nc pal task of these schools is thoroughly to acquai nt party cadres w th the

science of Marxism-Leninism, with the resolutions of the Eighth Party Congress and the documents of the international communist movement, especially of the CPSU, to continue consolidating the class consciousness and to enable them to keep improving the work in promoting and developing the socialist consciousness of the working people within the scope of their party organization. The resolution adopted by the Politburo instructs us to give our special attention to raising the standard of education and instruction at the party schools more quickly. Theoretical instruction must be even closer to life and more practice-oriented than before.

Uninterrupted study of Marxism-Leninism

Marxism-Leninism is not learned by heart, one acquires command of it by applying it. The object of party propaganda is not to acquaint the student with theory per se, it is to enable him to use it in the political struggle going on in our time. This aspiration should determine the work of each class and of each course. The questions asked by our people these days, their ideological, political, economic problems and problems relating to art should not be left unnoticed by our party schools and seminars: they belong right in the centre, they should always be part of the syllabus.

Acquainting the comrades with the scientific method of the classics, with the materialist dialectics, which Engels referred to as "... our best tool and our sharpest weapon ..."⁹, is part of these close links with life and practice and, consequently, of a high theoretical standard of instruction. The party school must enable the comrades—to use Lenin's words—"to apply in practice the materialist assessment of all sides of the activity and life of a classes, strata and groups".¹⁰ This calls for a thorough study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which we should give more support to everywhere.

We must see to it that the wishes and needs of our activists and tutors for exchanging experience are better compensated with, this is commanded by the high esteem in which we hold their responsible and many-sided work.

We are aware of the fact that it is not easy to meet all the demands made on the activists and tutors of the party in our day. We

⁹ Marx Engels Works, Vol 21, p 293

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin Works, Vol. 5, p. 426 (quoted from the German edition)

and so know that more intensive and active help and guidance must be given to the cadres on the ideological front.

Not all the questions covered by the resolution of the Politburo have been dealt with here. But we do not regard the present conference as the last, but rather as the first word in the creative discussion of our party concerning the best ways of implementing the resolution.

We cannot put forward enough wise ideas and suggestions for conducting agitation and propaganda work that is worthy of the world's greatest revolutionary cause. A vast stock of ideas, a multiplicity of forms, wise leadership and a sober analysis of the achievements made are needed in order to keep improving and rendering more effective the way in which we propagate our ideology among the masses, in order that the ideology be useful to the people and that it enable them to become self-confident personalities, active builders of a society that we justly call mature socialism.

Inspired by this awareness we set about the new tasks we are confronted with. Let us make our party's word, which was proclaimed a quarter of a century ago by a relative minority and hesitantly heard by the majority of our people and which today is upheld and recognized by millions, so effective that tomorrow it will determine the thoughts and feelings of all and that it will become the prime intellectual need of every citizen of our German Democratic Republic. This, comrades, is our task.

The tasks of agitation and propaganda work and further implementation of the decisions adopted by the VIIIth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Decisions of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee of 7 November 1972

The Vth SED Congress has introduced a new phase of creative activity. Practical life proves that the implementation of its decisions is characterized by the endeavour to do everything for the benefit of man, for the happiness of the people and for the interests of the working class and all working people. The party and the people are more and more united. Socialist democracy is developing on a large scale, and intellectual and cultural life is being enriched. All this strengthens the German Democratic Republic, the socialist workers' and farmers' state, and represents an active participation in the process of the revolutionary transformation of the world. The fundamental decisions adopted at the XXIVth CPSU Congress, the decisions of our VIIIth Party Congress and those of the congresses held by the fraternal parties of the community of socialist states, which are successfully being implemented, give the construction of socialism new dimensions and greater perspectives.

For a high level of political consciousness and greater activity in the advancing world of socialism

The establishment of developed socialist society is a gigantic and creative process which has to be systematically shaped by the millions of working people under the leadership of the fighting Marxist-Leninist party in accordance with the objective laws of socialism. This always makes new demands on the teaching of Marxist-Leninist science and on the content and organization of the party's agitation and propaganda activities.

It is the main concern of the party's agitation and propaganda work to provide the working class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to enlighten them on the successful implementation of our ideas throughout the world, to educate them in the spirit of communist ideals to become staunch

and resolute fighters, to mobilize them for the fulfilment of the decisions of the party and to increase the capacity to fight against the poeases and ideology of imperialism.

It is the action programme of the party's ideological activities to enable the working class and all working people ideologically to cope successfully with the inspiring and challenging tasks resulting from the decisions of the VIth Party Congress.

The constant development of ideological work is a law of the construction of socialism and communism. The requirements for the effectiveness of agitation and propaganda activity are growing due to the following decisive factors:

- It has become a priority to raise the level of socialist consciousness of the working people and to impart knowledge of how the GDR's socialist society, in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, is gaining in strength and how socialist integration of the countries of the community of socialist states is advancing.
- A high socialist consciousness promotes and determines the further development of socialist democracy. Propaganda and educational work of a convincing nature governs the relationship among the people and the attitude towards the socialist order more and more. The process of ideological maturing is decisive for the socialist transformation of the personality of the people.
- A firm class position is a so essential factor for new successes in the class struggle against imperialism, a struggle that is intensifying and which is taking place on different levels and in various forms and includes all spheres of social life.

Marxism-Leninism—the victorious banner of all revolutionary forces

Marxism-Leninism is the reliable compass for our party. All revolutionary changes take place under its influence. Marxist-Leninist theory, proven in life and in the fire of struggle, is the guarantee for new victories of our just cause. It is a guide for action, for the revolutionary transformation of the world. It alone enables the people to relate themselves properly to the often complex processes of world events, to safeguard the interests of the working class and of all working people in a systematic and creative manner, and to enrich their own lives and make them meaningful.

The more profoundly the people assimilate the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the world, the more they study the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the more deeply they

we'll be convinced that the fall of capitalism and the victory of socialism on an international scale is a certainty. Marxism-Leninism alone can give valid answers to the questions raised by our age. It's a living teaching which is constantly developing. It's constantly enriched by the building of socialism and communism, by the revolutionary struggle of the international communist and working-class movement.

The success of our ideological work depends on how we succeed in propagating the basic truths of our theory in closest association with the latest findings resulting from the activities of the world communist movement and its leading force, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the same way as Marxism-Leninism is the overall world outlook of the revolutionary working class, it has to be taught, studied and translated into practice as a whole. It is important for the party's agitation and propaganda work to act always in conformity with the proven principle of the unity of theory and practice, of words and deeds, because Marxism-Leninism does not only explain the world — it transforms it. On this basis it has been decided:

1.

Agitation and propaganda activities have to be concentrated still more systematically on the all-round strengthening of our socialist GDR, on its ever stronger anchoring in the community of socialist states. It is essential to act in such a way that each citizen feels that he is a member of this community, of this great fraternal alliance which decisively influences the revolutionary rebirth of the world and represents the main guarantee of peace and security. The German Democratic Republic is an integral part of this family of socialist nations. Today socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism are reflected in conscious actions for the strengthening and the protection of the GDR and, at the same time, of the fraternal socialist alliance, Internationalism and patriotism are increasingly merging. The integration of the community of socialist states is a revolutionary task of our time. The character, pace and significance of socialist economic integration as a qualitatively new stage of cooperation require that all working people act and think in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Education in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism is the most effective weapon against all manifestations of the bourgeois ideology, and of nationalism in particular.

We must fervently make all people aware of the fact that the more powerfully socialism develops the more secure is peace. It is necessary to propagate untiringly the truth that socialism is fully in keeping with the interests of all progressive forces in the world. Agitation and propaganda should make the absolutely peaceful and humanistic aims of socialist foreign policy, the achievements made in implementing the peace programme adopted by the XXIVth CPSU Congress and the corresponding decisions of our VIIIth Party Congress more visible. It must be shown that hard fight is required to compel imperialism to accept peace.

The struggles and victories in the international revolutionary process have to be presented in such a way that the pioneer role of the Soviet Union in human progress, the love of the Land of the Soviets, respect for the enormous efforts and achievements of the CPSU which are of world-wide and historic significance, of the Soviet state founded by Lenin, of the Soviet working class and of the whole Soviet people reach the minds and hearts of all people. This attitude towards the CPSU and the USSR, towards this principal force in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism which has existed for more than 50 years, was, is, and will remain for our party the touchstone of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, of loyalty to the working class and its historic mission.

2.

Agitation and propaganda activity must be consistently derived from the main task as laid down by the VIIIth Party Congress and must be aimed at its fulfilment. It must be a permanent objective to explain both the purposes of the main task and the means of implementing it. Proceeding from the basic law of socialism it should be made absolutely clear that the whole policy of the party must be focused on the further satisfaction of the material, intellectual and cultural needs of the people and that everywhere serious, selfless and consistent efforts must be made to achieve this lofty aim. The purpose and nature of socialism, its advantages and laws should be propagated to a larger extent. This includes making all working people constantly aware of the fact that the further improvement of material and cultural living standards depends on the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the national economic plans, on systematic, disciplined and effective work, on a socialist attitude towards work and public property. The struggle against the waste of labour and public property has to be intensified by means of agitation and propaganda activity.

The achievements of the scientific and technological revolution have to be harmoniously linked to the advantages of socialism in order to provide for a constant increase of labour productivity. The solution of this key problem should be a priority for ideological work. It is necessary to encourage the activities of a working people in socialist emulation, to make full use of their capabilities and their sense of ingenuity, their ideas and proposals, to accelerate scientific and technological progress and to be intolerant of its underestimation. More attention should be directed to the relationship between socialist rationalization, intensification of production and the improvement of the working and living conditions of the working people, particularly to a thorough improvement of the working environment.

Agitation and propaganda work should stimulate a proper appreciation of outstanding achievements in a field of socialism. Material and moral levers have to be harmoniously applied in such a manner that the activities of the working people and the socialist motivation for their behaviour are better stimulated.

More attention should be given to imparting economic as well as scientific and technological knowledge. For this purpose the appropriate instruction of workers, cooperative farmers, intellectuals and managerial staff in economics has to be extended in the next few years, making full and coordinated use of relevant opportunities offered by state and industrial managerial bodies: the FDGB (Confederation of Free German Trade Unions), FDJ (Free German Youth), URANIA (Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge) and other organizations as well as the publishing houses, the press, radio and television services.

3.

One of the most important tasks of agitation and propaganda work is to bring about the socialist transformation of people's personalities. The political, ideological and moral attitude of the people, their qualities of character and their growing intellectual and cultural demands should be used to become an ever stronger driving force for social progress. The achievements of the socialist system in its increasing richness should be employed to reinforce the truth of our age that only socialism guarantees freedom, human rights and self-determination, that only socialism is capable of shaping social life in a truly human, truly moral and truly beneficial way.

The scientifically based world outlook of the whole working class, of all working people and especially of youth has to be further

strengthened by a systematic propagation of dialectic and historic materialism, of political economy and scientific communism without using rigid patterns. This task with its new scope represents new requirements for training in philosophy, for spreading the lofty ideals of the working class. The findings of the natural and technical sciences should be more closely related to their consequences in terms of philosophy. The atheist character of Marxist-Leninist philosophy should be presented to a larger extent and in greater variety. All ideological work should pay more attention to stronger philosophical messages. Personal, above all ethical questions which are important for the people's social behaviour, should be taken into account more and dealt with more thoroughly from the philosophical point of view. The formation of socialist personalities includes the study of cultural values, both of one's own people and of the socialist countries, particularly of the Soviet Union, of humanist world culture, as well as the love of art.

An important consideration in ideological work is that social ties develop mainly in the work process, in and through the work-team. The new socialist modes of thinking and behaviour must be popularized as examples, i. e., a firm class point of view, exemplary work, great dedication to the common cause, preparedness for defence, comradely attitude, mutual aid, self-confidence and modest behaviour at the same time, sense of responsibility for the whole of society, and other attitudes corresponding to our socialist way of life. This requires the exposure of and patiently work against forms of behaviour which are alien to socialism and run counter to socialist morality, such as selfishness, egoism, boodymindedness, subjectivism, heartlessness and injustice.

Propaganda in the field of history has to help arouse, more than before, respect for, and pride in the selfless struggle and revolutionary traditions of the German and international working-class movements. It must demonstrate the historic achievement and mission of the working class and always ensure a class-based approach to the events of the past and the present, to all basic problems of the struggle between socialism and capitalism.

4.

The confrontation with imperialism and all its ideological manifestations must run like a red thread through our agitation and propaganda activity as a whole. It is a constant necessity to expose its reactionary and anti-human nature. Lenin's teachings on imperialism and the documents of the International Conference on

Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1969, represent a basic scientific principle in this regard. Bearing in mind the continuous y intensifying contradiction of the capitalist system and its incurable maladies—exploitation, social insecurity and injustice, deep-rooted social and moral decadence, the destruction of human dignity, and particularly the barbaric wars caused time and again by this system—it must be clearly shown that imperialism has neither changed its nature nor that it is capable of solving any vital human question, and that it is only socialism to that the future belongs.

Using our superior intellectual weapons, it is the task of agitation and propaganda work to drive anti-communism, the principal political and ideological tool of the imperialist bourgeoisie, as well as bourgeois nationalism, social-democratic reformism, revisionism and "left-wing" opportunism from the field. The unity and purity of Marxism-Leninism has to be consistently defended against all attacks.

Under present conditions a particularly tough and bitter fight between socialism and imperialism is being waged on the ideological front. In this field there is no, and cannot be any, coexistence. Socialist and bourgeois ideology are irreconcilable. In this sector of the battlefield especially, there is no armistice. The greatest class vigilance and activity should be developed in view of the progress made by the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and together with this sharpening ideological confrontation, in view of massive encounters of people with conflicting outlooks and ways of life.

The failure of the imperialist doctrines on the "rolling back of socialism" by means of "nuclear retaliation", the outdated methods of the cold war make it difficult for the bourgeois ideologists to advocate the same anti-communism. Agitation and propaganda work must explain that it is the increased power of socialism which compels its enemies to present themselves demagogically as "improvers". It has to show that the nature of "democratic" or "humane" socialism as well as of the theories about the "industrial society" and the "convergence of the social systems" lies in hostility towards the power of the workers and farmers, in hostility towards socialism as it really exists. There is no, and cannot be any, alternative to scientific communism because it is a reflection of the objective laws of social development and because it fully corresponds to the interests of the working people.

Our ideological struggle should also expose the nature of Maoism with its anti-Leninism, anti-Sovietism and undiluted great-power

chauvinism. Maoism is hostile to Marxism-Leninism, to the common aims of the world communist movement, to the construction of socialism and communism. In its attempts at splitting, and sowing dissensions on the part of the world communist movement, it betrays the objectives and interests of the national liberation movement and acts in perfect collusion with imperialist forces. The ideological unmasking of Maoism is an essential condition for strengthening the unity of the revolutionary forces in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Our agitation and propaganda work should be understood by everyone and reach everyone

5.

Agitation and propaganda work has to be developed in the spirit of the VIth Party Congress in such a way that it appeals to, and reaches, everyone and that its influence and effectiveness constantly grow.

- The living teaching of Marxism-Leninism must be conveyed in a lively and partisan manner, in close connection with practice with convincing evidence and great passion so that it reaches the minds and hearts of the people.
- Agitation and propaganda work should help the working people to find the bearings in political life and draw the appropriate conclusions for their own actions.
- Agitation and propaganda and information work have to supplement and permeate each other in the Leninist sense. The more reasonably and comprehensively their tools and methods are applied the greater will be their impact.

The condition for our agitation and propaganda activity to reach a mass and to have a high qualitative level is the ideological confirmation of the party members themselves.

6.

Lively membership meetings on a high political level are of primary ideological importance to enable comrades to explain the policy of the party in a convincing manner to the masses. At branch meetings more than anywhere else comrades have to be provided with the type of information and arguments which they need for their daily personal conversations with the people at their places of work or in their residential areas. Every membership meeting

should provide a frank atmosphere allowing every comrade to come out openly with his opinion and to present his problems. This requires that the party committees listen with great attention to the ideas, proposals and critical suggestions put forward by the comrades, that they conscientiously examine all proposals, consider valuable advice and give their full support to the implementation of these proposals. A formalism is harmful to meetings. The party committees have to see to it that the meetings deal at a high political level with those problems which are raised by practical life. Information given by the Central Committee to the secretaries of the factory party branches has to be thoroughly analysed. Personal tasks between party committees and members and candidate members have proven to be of particular value, e.g. in the issue of new membership cards. Such tasks which are of a high educational value and a source of numerous stimuli for party life should be incorporated in day-to-day party work in the factory organizations and especially in the party branches.

7.

Marxist education classes are the principal form of party education. All party organizations have the task of further increasing the theoretical and ideological level of such classes and seminars. They are to be a true school of theory and of the exchange of practical experience, a school for the application of Marxist-Leninist theory in everyday life. It is therefore necessary to link study activities and the formation of frank, collective opinions in Marxist education classes still more closely with the political and ideological tasks of the factory branches. Marxist education tutors must improve the ability of the participants in these classes to apply dialectic methods to the analysis of social reality. In party education classes more attention should be given to profound discussion, arguments and objections, questions and replies. Taking account of the given conditions in the party organizations and of the interests of the participants, the many-sided opportunities of the Marxist education classes planned for longer periods should be used to teach Marxist-Leninism in an even better way. Organized private study of Marxist-Leninist theory, especially of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, daily reading and the further education of a party members and candidate members must be encouraged to a greater extent.

Comrades working in publishing houses, in distribution literature or in the press, in radio or television services have to carry out

systematic and many-sided publicity with the printed word in accordance with the tasks and requirements of party and mass propaganda. It should arouse the interest in learning and further promote a love of books.

8.

The party schools play an important role in the theoretical and ideological training and education of cadres.

The quality of instruction should be improved by greater theoretical depth, by closer links with practice and a more lively approach.

This requires teaching Marxism-Leninism systematically in all the unity of its main elements, and directing maximum attention to the scientific principles of party work as well as to the most enlightening experiences of the party organizations. All kinds of instruction should contribute to the adoption of the scientific methods used by the classics of Marxism-Leninism to enable the pupils in the courses in an even better way to apply Marxist-Leninist theory independently and creatively to the implementation of the decisions of the party. Training in the forms and methods of ideological work must be perfected.

The procedures for selection of pupils for the courses by the county and district committees and by the factory committees must be improved, ensuring long-term planning. A greater number of party cadres from production work and of young cadres should be sent to party schools.

A comrade stands for the whole party

9.

Political work of a convincing nature is the business of the party as a whole and of each individual member. It is one of the elementary duties of a communist to discuss political matters with the working people each day, to explain the stand adopted by the party and to answer the questions raised by his fellow-citizens.

Political work among the masses should be conducted in a suitably varied way taking account of the differences in the level of awareness, experience and education of the classes and strata, of age and occupational groups. Many forms and methods are available for this purpose. The organization of political life must invariably proceed from the need to keep alive what has proved

its value, to bring it into line with the prevailing concrete conditions and to enrich it with new ideas.

A special role is played by the activists of the party. Comrades who distinguish themselves by long experience in party work, by their ability to convince others and by a high level of political knowledge should exert a continuous influence on their fellow-workers. Comrades who have acquired specialized knowledge in such fields as foreign policy, economic policy, cultural policy and the struggle against imperialism should be detailed to meet special requirements with a more varied approach to propaganda work and notably the political information of the working population. Leading party and government officials and managers should be included in lecturers' teams set up by county and district committees as well as by large party organizations and be systematically assigned to address public meetings and events. It is necessary to provide these comrades with special training and information. Major propaganda events have been shown to be most suitable for this purpose. It is advisable to form or enlarge such lecturers' teams in the mass organizations.

The place of work remains the main field of propaganda activities

10.

The development of the working people into socialist personalities chiefly takes place in the process of work, within the socialist mass emulation movement. Here we have the main field of ideological activities. It is necessary to exploit the manifold opportunities for varied forms of agitation and propaganda at the place of work. Lecturers' groups, economic and other advisory centres and the many other forms of exchanging views and experience in factories and offices such as workteam meetings, production conferences, staff meetings, economic conferences, trade union meetings and events organized by other social organizations should be better used to settle political, economic and ideological problems. The large-scale study of Marxism-Leninism should be organized particularly in the work-teams, past experience having shown that it is desirable to generalize the results of this study at theoretical conferences.

The party committees must devote close attention to the schools of socialist work in which teams of workers undergo political and vocational qualification and maintain an intense intellectual and

cultural life. The trade unions are at the base of this movement. It must be ensured that these schools are set up step by step and that formalism and routine are avoided. The factory branch committees should also see to it that the URANIA (Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge) meets the concrete requirements of the enterprises concerned.

Managers assume a high measure of responsibility for the political and ideological education of the working people. The party committees must ensure that state officials and managers regard ideological work as part and parcel of their work. Efforts must be made to overcome signs of a purely technical approach to managerial questions and to bring about the unity of economic management and political and ideological education.

Political work among the masses must be rich in substance and varied in presentation

11.

To bring the ideological activities of the party to maximum efficiency it is necessary to bring into play the whole wealth and the most effective forms and methods of work among the masses.

Political meetings are the cornerstone of the work performed at grass-roots level. Here the first essential is to exploit the entire range of existing opportunities and organize attractive and inspiring meetings. This is true of gatherings on the job, of talks in a more restrained circle of persons, of discussions in the residential areas and of new emergent forms such as the "Treffpunkt Leiter" (managers' forum) and the "Rathausgespräch" (city council forum).

In conjunction with the National Front committees, the local assemblies and their bodies, the party organizations have to ensure that the working people are given regular information on how local living conditions are developing and on what has to be done for this purpose. They must take an energetic stand against manifestations of red-tapism, disregard for suggestions, and questions put forward by the citizens, and violations of the duty to provide information. Political work among the masses should at all times be directed at winning the citizens for active cooperation in the solution of the tasks facing the state and society.

Ideological work in the pre-school establishments, general schools, institutes of higher and further education and vocational schools needs mass support from the party organizations. At

these places where the young generation is often confronted for the first time with our world outlook, it is necessary to impart the teachings of Marx'sm-Leninism in a lively manner to provide essential foundations for a firm class standpoint.

The party organizations support the work performed by the socialist youth association to educate its members in the spirit of Marx'sm-Lenin'sm chiefly by providing competent tutors. To promote political discussions with young people, more use should be made of the Young Innovators' Fair, URAN A events and lectures for young persons, discoteques, conversations with veterans of the working-class movement and outstanding workers. This work must be better adapted to the ideas and feelings of the young generation and take greater account of their interests. In this way the thirst for knowledge and keenness of young people can be directed into the right channels.

Factory training centres and adult education institutes have to solve major tasks in spreading the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. The education classes run by the Society for German-Soviet Friendship (DSF), known as "Lenin-Akademie", the study groups set up to evaluate the Soviet experience, and other events assume an important place in the system of educational work. The education classes organized by the Women's Democratic Federation of Germany (DFD) are proving their worth in the residential areas.

Culture and art assume an important place in the political work among the masses. The party committees should establish closer links with artists working in their sphere of competence. Vocal groups, choirs, satirical groups, literary and musical performances of various kinds, plays, feature films, documentaries, popular science films all of which may have a strong emotional appeal should be employed in a systematic and purposeful manner. Visits of clubs, exhibitions, museums, memorial places, libraries etc. must be popularized on a larger scale and be turned to account for educational purposes. Attention should also be given to the political and ideological background for such celebrations as naming ceremonies, youth initiation ceremonies (Jugendweihe) and jubilees.

The specific appeal of visual means of propaganda such as posters, slides, slide lectures, tape recordings, leaflets, pamphlets, brochures etc. must be better brought into play. Whenever organs are needed they must respond to the current situation and fight with the thought and action of the people. It is indispensable to enrich poster design with fresh ideas and more convincing artistic

solutions. Visual means of expression should also be used to a larger extent to pay public tribute to outstanding performances by individual workers.

Press, radio and TV are powerful weapons in our struggle

12.

Press, radio and television spread our policy and ideology among millions of people each day, thus exerting a decisive influence on the formation of social convictions, frameworks of thought and attitudes.

Acting as a collective propagandist of the socialist construction effort, they are expected to make a direct contribution to meeting the growing intellectual and cultural demands of the people. Our mass media will live up to this role and their responsibilities to the extent that they increase their hold on the masses and the persuasive power of their political arguments.

Primary significance must be given to the quality of political information and arguments which are increasingly coming to the fore as a decisive factor in forming political consciousness and play a major role in educating the people in a socialist way. The many facets of life under socialism call for appealing and mobilizing journalistic coverage, for a plastic, popular, militant and outspoken representation of real life, which is deeply rooted in the people. It is of the greatest importance that the working people themselves are increasingly being given an opportunity to put forward their ideas, suggestions, experience, and critical remarks in the press, radio and television so that the mass media can live up better and better to their role as a forum of socialist democracy. Consequently the mass media must provide the working people—in line with their political responsibility—with a wealth of varied information which is made available immediately and in a thought-provoking manner and they must satisfy the working people's requirements in terms of information. The interaction between the political work carried out directly among the masses and the activities of the mass media must be exposed more effectively and be better brought under control. The party committees should regard political information and arguments supplied by the press, radio and television as major sources of facts for their political discussions with the working people.

The mass media are called upon to give broader support to party

and mass propaganda. This is true of the popularization of new developments in both the social and natural sciences. For this purpose it is necessary to develop the co-creative work of social scientists and journalists. Scientific publications in the press, and scientific radio and television programmes must in any case be intelligible to the ordinary man.

The party press, i.e., its central organ *Neues Deutschland*, regional and factory publications are to be developed to reach maximum efficiency in their persuasive power and mass appeal because they are a decisive instrument for the party to lead society politically and for the links between the party and the people.

The illustrated newspapers and weeklies are confronted with the tasks of constantly ensuring a high level of political consciousness, diversity of information and popular appeal of both the text and the accompanying photographs to give them a particularly broad impact on the masses.

The socialist television system exerts a strong influence on the political, intellectual and cultural life of society. This makes great demands on those responsible for the television programmes, who are bound to come up to the highest possible quality standards in terms of political journalism, artistic merit and entertainment. Those are decisive factors for television work coming up to a society's expectations of it.

Current information and news services of a high political level as well as exacting music programmes varied according to taste and listening habits play a special part in the field of broadcasting.

Gratifying and respected work for the cause of socialism

13.

Party activists, propagandists, journalists and all others helping spread Marxism-Leninism carry out demanding and creative work. Such work presupposes loyalty to principles, political far-sightedness and a feeling of solidarity with the party's struggle. It presupposes a knowledge of human nature, sympathetic understanding, teaching ability, a growing mastery of methods of imparting knowledge and, last but not least, the enjoyment of work. A sound knowledge of political and ideological affairs must be combined with solid professional work because only such a combination will command the respect of the working people. These yardsticks must be applied when it comes to selecting, employing and educating

the cadres needed. It remains a preoccupation of all party committees to enhance their social status and prestige. It is desirable that the party committees pay public tribute to their best activists and tutors.

Intense use should be made of the opportunities offered by party schools and educational centres of the county and district committees as well as of the nationally-owned enterprises for the training of propaganda workers and tutors. The latter should see to it in their education classes and private study that they acquire a sound basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and have practice in the art of convincing others and refuting false arguments.

In view of rapidly growing demands within the party, the trade unions and the youth organization, it is necessary to win and train many new propagandists and tutors who will devote their lives to spreading the word of the party.

The social sciences and greater propaganda efficiency

14.

Agitation and propaganda can be brought to full effect only if they are enriched by research work in the social sciences, if the social scientists themselves take an active part in agitation and propaganda.

As a theoretical, political and ideological instrument of the working class and its party the Marxist-Leninist social sciences are confronted with the task of investigating qualitatively new phenomena and real processes of social development in their historical and dialectical interrelationship in a constant battle with all kinds of reactionary, bourgeois ideologies and with right-wing and leftist revisionist tendencies and of finding and propagating ways to solve current problems and tasks. The most important contribution to be made by the social scientists to support party and mass propaganda is to implement the central research plan for the Marxist-Leninist social sciences in a systematic manner. The need to disseminate the results of studies conducted in the Soviet Union must be given first priority here.

The results of research in the social sciences must be exploited more rapidly for purposes of agitation and propaganda. Part of the responsibility for this lies with the publications issued in this field. The point here is to meet the demands of all those teaching or studying Marxism-Leninism as far as the selection of topics and

their presentation are concerned. Arguments and documents available for the immediate political struggle must play a bigger role in the contributions of social scientists to these publications.

The publishing houses and social scientists are faced with the task of editing textbooks, introductions and popular writings for all main fields of Marxism-Leninism. To widen the range of literature available for mass propaganda it is advisable to publish more booklets in special series analysing current political, economic, philosophical, intellectual and cultural problems and designed for various sections and age-groups of the population.

The social scientists should also make a larger contribution to the elaboration of the scientific foundations for directing and planning ideological work and of ways and means of enhancing their effectiveness. This applies first of all to the correlation existing between the planning of fundamental social processes of our society and the whole of our ideological work. The conclusions reached by opinion analysts, sociologists, psychologists, teachers and information theorists must be turned to account in a systematic way.

Ways of directing propaganda work

15.

Ideological work is the pivotal point of all activities of the party. Only the elected committees can direct agitation and propaganda work.

They are fully responsible for ensuring that this work is conducted on a high level and effectively organized. There must be no rigid compartmentalization to the point where committees assign this work exclusively to cadres specially detailed for this task. Special emphasis must be laid on using the rich experience gathered by the CPSU in directing and shaping agitation and propaganda activities.

— The ideological work of the party organizations should be closely coordinated and carefully planned. The content of the tasks posed must lie at the centre of all planning. The plans drawn up for ideological work should be based on the practical needs of work and be aimed at the implementation of the decisions adopted by the party.

Profiting from personal contacts with the working people, from information given by the party organizations and from special

analyses, all party committees should make regular assessments of what preoccupations the people have, of how their political awareness is developing, of how effective the political work among the masses is and draw the necessary conclusions for their further work.

To add to the effectiveness of political work at grass-roots level it is indispensable to employ its different forms, means and methods in a reasonable manner in line with the specific possibilities of each of these. It is necessary to do away with the routine, monotony and dullness which characterizes certain political meetings.

If ideological work is to be conducted in a more varied and effective manner than has so far been the case, steps must be taken to ensure better coordination of party work with the ideological activity of public organizations, i.e. the trade unions, the youth organization, the National Front, the Women's Democratic Federation of Germany, URANIA, the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, the German Sports and Gymnastics Federation, the Society for Sports and Technology, the Chamber of Technology, the artists' association and others. The time required for public work must be used as effectively as possible to obtain maximum political effect.

Up and down the country the party committees guarantee a satisfactory information of the working people about all measures and decisions affecting their life and work. It should become the standard practice for leading state and economic bodies to define in their decisions and decrees by whom, in what and with what arguments the citizens shall be informed and won over to support the measures adopted.

It is necessary for the party committees to draw general conclusions from the wealth of experience gathered in the field of agitation and propaganda in a systematic way so as to be able to perfect the forms and methods for this work.

Our party has accumulated much experience in the realm of agitation and propaganda. Good results have been achieved in developing a socialist way of thinking. Hundreds of thousands of activists and propaganda workers are daily at work with heart and soul to spread the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the whole population. Firmly relying on what has stood the test of time, we shall tackle the tasks lying ahead and implement them successfully.

